

# THE AMERICAN

VOL. II.—NO. 58.

PHILADELPHIA, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1881.

PRICE, 6 CENTS.

## NOTES.

THE President is neither much better nor much worse than before his removal. On Sunday, indeed, he seemed decidedly worse. He had a very uneasy day, and symptoms appeared which were thought at first to indicate the presence of an abscess or some other trouble in the lungs. Such a complication hardly could have had any but a fatal result, and some of the newspapers spoke as if that result were already assured. But the ease with which these symptoms yielded to treatment dispelled this apprehension, and on the following day he was much better. He sleeps well, has recovered from his weariness, takes in the ordinary way food sufficient for him, and begins to see any of the members of the Cabinet who may be on hand, and sits up a little in a reclining chair. Mr. GARFIELD is still far from being past the danger-line. It is not time yet to discuss the proper date for a national thanksgiving over his recovery. Most of the States, indeed, have held or are holding days of public and united prayer for his recovery. The overconfidence which prevailed a few weeks ago has ceased, although there is no despondency. Most people have made up their minds that they will not believe in his recovery till they hear of his "being about again;" and that they will not believe in his dying until they hear that the breath is out of his body.

It was thought at first that the removal of the President from the District of Columbia to the State of New Jersey had introduced a new legal complication into the case. If the President should die in New Jersey, it was said, the assassin cannot be convicted of murder under the laws of either place. The District's laws take cognizance of a murder only when the victim dies within their jurisdiction. Those of New Jersey take cognizance of it only when the deed has been committed within that State. GUILTEAU still could be tried in the District, but only for the "assault and battery, with intent to kill," as though the President had survived the attempt. This was formerly the state of New Jersey law, and it furnishes one more illustration of that wretched "conflict of laws" which grows out of our forty systems of criminal legislation. The boundaries between our States are as important in our legal system as those between different nations of Europe. Fortunately, a more recent statute brings the assassin within the reach of New Jersey justice, in case Mr. GARFIELD should die.

A SOLDIER in the regular army, named MASON, came near relieving the lawyers of every such difficulty. Being on duty watching the prison of the District, he waited until he was relieved, and then, according to one account, watched for the assassin's appearance at the window, when he fired his rifle through it, just grazing GUILTEAU's head. According to another, GUILTEAU was neither at nor near the window of his cell, and, whatever Sergeant MASON's intentions, he can hardly be said to have fired at the assassin. The act was the natural outcome of the wild and revengeful talk which has been indulged in too much during the past two months. It is the more worthy of reprehension, as its perpetrator is a man appointed to preserve the public peace and to guard the life to which he sought to put an end. The civil authorities of the District have decided to leave him in the hands of the military authorities, who will try him for the breach of the military laws which his

offence involves. This will prevent any exhibition of popular feeling in his favor. The civil offence of shooting at GUILTEAU is not one which the American people are agreed in regarding as heinous. The military offence of disobeying orders is more manifestly worthy of punishment. Every one knows that the army cannot exist in the absence of thorough subordination.

THE Constitutional lawyers, in which variety the country abounds, continue to discuss the inability of the President. The solid sense of the country acquiesces in the continuance of the present arrangement so long as the President lives. That Mr. ARTHUR would be President for the whole term, if he became President at all, is disputed by many who seem to think that his temporary assumption of the duties of the office would be desirable. As this is Mr. GRANT's view, it is possible that the Vice-President himself entertains it. That the Constitution contemplates the possibility of a temporary disability, and of the resumption of the functions of the office by its original incumbent at the cessation of this disability, is evident from the words of the clause under discussion. It provides that, when both the President and Vice-President have been removed, the President of the Senate shall act as President *until the disability be removed*, or a President elected. If Mr. GARFIELD be under any disability,—which we doubt,—it is the first case in which a temporary disability has occurred since the formation of the Government. It is, therefore, not governed by any precedents, but requires a fresh interpretation of the Constitution. According to the plain sense of the Constitution, a temporary disability furnishes no ground for a more than temporary occupation of the Presidential chair.

THERE is evidence that Mr. JAMES and Mr. MACVEAGH have not abandoned their investigation of the Star Route abuses, and their purpose to bring their responsible authors to justice. One sign of this purpose is the recent retention of Mr. GEORGE BLISS of New York, and Mr. BENJAMIN HARRIS BREWSTER of this city, as counsel for the Government in these cases. We do not believe that there is any influence which will deter Mr. GARFIELD's Administration from following up these cases to the very end. Certainly, the fear of an adverse verdict would not do so. It is not a verdict, but exposure of the wrong-doers in the face of the country, which will be of use to the public service. It is said that political considerations will weigh with them against a vigorous prosecution. These cases strictly have no political significance. Men of both parties are among the criminals and even the ringleaders of this bad business. A Memphis paper charges upon its Democratic friends an unwillingness to have the matter probed to the bottom, because they know that Democrats as well as Republicans will suffer by the exposure. Mr. GARFIELD's Administration has already shown its purpose to spare no one in such cases. We have confidence in its honesty and its thoroughness in dealing with the Star Route contractors.

THE Indian troubles are far from ended in Arizona. The White Hill branch of the Ute race are on the war-path, and the settlers are arming and calling for arms from the general Government. We think it very unfortunate that the regular army is not large

enough to dispose of such troubles without calling in the aid of volunteer companies. If we must fight the Indians, it should be with soldiers who are under the restraints of a regular discipline. They alone can be depended upon to make a right use of their victory. It has been one of the misfortunes of our Indian wars, that the outrages inflicted by white men have been such as to justify much of the bitter, relentless cruelty with which the Indian has used every advantage he gained.

THE death of General BURNSIDE removes one more of the leaders upon whom the country stayed itself during the war. The deceased officer filled many high yet secondary positions in a very satisfactory way. He was not a great general, but he had qualities not less useful than great generalship in an extensive and prolonged war, when next to first-class ability in the chief the thing most needed is first-class fidelity in his subordinates. Since his return to private life, Mr. BURNSIDE has served his little State as Governor and as Senator of the United States. In the latter capacity, he took the greatest interest in educational questions. Besides securing the distribution of a small sum among the States for the promotion of education, he labored to reform the system pursued in the District of Columbia, especially urging the introduction of moral training as the proper complement of intellectual discipline. In this he was quite right, but he excited laughter by the oddly wooden and mechanical character of his proposals for this end. However, there is great reason to regret his loss, especially as the Senate has no other member, unless it be Mr. BROWN of Georgia, who takes a first-class interest in educational questions.

MR. COLLECTOR ROBERTSON informs a deputation of the New York Commercial Exchange that he does not mean to abolish the system of competitive examinations by which the subordinate places in that custom-house have been filled since Mr. ARTHUR's removal from the Collectorship. This and the introduction of these examinations into the Philadelphia post-office constitute the only practical gains which the Reform has made under this Administration; and they are more than balanced by the extrusion of the Reform from the Interior Department. It is true that it has gained much in the growth of a favorable public opinion since Mr. GARFIELD was shot. That the Commercial Exchange takes the trouble to send Mr. ROBERTSON a deputation, shows such a gain. But no one can say how solid or lasting this feeling will prove, nor even how far it has taken hold upon the more stolid and less mobile elements of our citizenship. It may prove to be no more than one of the many emotions which have come to light during the sadly exciting summer, and as quick to die out as are any of the others.

IN New York City, the attempt to reorganize the Democracy has resulted in the addition of a new "machine" to the two already in existence, and each of the three will claim to represent the city in the State Convention. As the exclusion of Mr. KELLY and his Tammany Hall delegates from the last State Convention was followed by disaster, there is naturally some anxiety as to the future of the party. Mr. KELLY is the only person who shows any disposition to compromise the matter. He proposes that the three organizations be given equal recognition. The new organization, the County Democracy, which represents Mr. TILDEN, rejects this proposal on the ground that Mr. KELLY has obtained control of the other older organization, so that equal recognition would give Mr. KELLY two-thirds of the power. There seems to be no way to a permanent peace, except through some kind of a compromise. The original blunder was that the Democracy recognized a club like Tammany Hall as an integral portion of their party, and allowed it to send delegates to their convention. It is this recognition which prevents the complete reconstruction of the party

machinery, giving each faction a representation proportional to the support it commands in common primary meetings.

IN Maine, the elevation of Mr. FRYE from the national House of Representatives to the United States Senate, in place of Mr. BLAINE, having left a vacancy in the Third Congressional District, nominations were made by all three parties. The Democrats, finding that they and the Greendackers were in each other's way, withdrew their candidate, expecting their friends to unite with the third party against the Republicans. What consideration was offered for this withdrawal, we are not told; but there is no doubt that a Greenbacker thus chosen would not hesitate to vote for a Democratic Speaker in organizing the House. This proceeding was denounced by the Republicans as showing lack of principle, which was true enough, but comes with a bad grace from such papers as the *Advertiser* of Boston. The coalition was no worse than that of the Republicans and the Readjusters in Virginia, or of the Republicans and the Greenbackers in Mississippi. But some people find it very immoral to do in Maine what is all right in the Southern States. And they think a vote in the organization of the Senate fairly bought by a price which must not be paid for a vote in the organization of the House. The Maine coalition proved to be a bad blunder. The party gave up its principles and got nothing by the surrender. The Republican candidate, ex-Governor DINGLEY, was elected by about five thousand majority, or fully three times the majority Mr. FRYE got a year ago. So much for coalition.

THE plan of compromise adopted at the last session of the Minnesota Legislature, by which the repudiated railroad bonds of the State were to be paid off at fifty cents on the dollar, has been set aside as illegal by the Supreme Court of the State. Those who contested the Constitutionality of the plan, seem to have got more than they bargained for. They appealed to the Court on the ground that a Constitutional amendment had forbidden the Legislature to pay those bonds without submitting that proposal to the vote of the people. The Court declared this very amendment to be void, because in conflict with the clause of the United States Constitution which forbids any State to pass a law impairing the obligation of contracts. The Court, indeed, set aside the Legislature's plan on the ground that they had invested a commission with powers which they had no right to delegate. But at the same time it opened the way for an honest majority in any future Legislature to pay these bonds at the rate of one hundred cents to the dollar, with accrued interest. It declares that no provision in the Constitution can put any bar to that proceeding.

THE Republicans have carried San Francisco, a result which we value chiefly as an evidence of the return of good times to the suffering classes of the city. The Republican party has suffered so many losses through being held responsible for hard times, that it is but fair that it should gain again when prosperity returns. The victory is not due to the peace and harmony of the party in the California capital. On the contrary, it is divided into two factions, and a committee has just reported on the accusations brought by the leader of one of these against the head of the Mint, who belongs to the other. It pronounces the charges to have no foundation, and to have been occasioned by a refusal to give places in the Mint to the political followers of the gentleman who made them public. The spoils system flourishes on the Pacific Coast, as elsewhere.

THE rainfall along the Atlantic Coast has brought relief to man and beast, although it has come too late to be of much use to the corn crops. But beyond the Alleghenies the drought continues, and in some parts of the South-west there is threatened an actual want of food during the coming winter and spring. In parts of Tennessee, this distress has reached a height which is rarely equalled



in American experience, and fears are expressed that the suffering will prove so severe as to produce social disorder. Such calamities as these must be expected in every purely agricultural country like the South-west. When a community like Tennessee sees fit to put all its eggs into one basket, it must expect a smash when that basket falls. Our Protectionist policy is designed to relieve every part of the country from the necessity of seeing a famine follow every bad season, as in India or in Ireland. Many parts of the West are taking advantage of the facilities it offers to diversify their industries in a way which furnishes them with something to fall back on in a time of agricultural distress. Tennessee possesses, in its magnificent water-power, advantages for manufacturing far beyond those of any Western State except Minnesota. But, while Chicago, Milwaukee and Minneapolis have become great industrial centres, Tennessee plods on at the stilts of a plow or the end of a hoe, as before. Perhaps this harsh experience will teach her people a lesson of political economy.

THE peninsula between Saginaw Bay and Lake Huron, in the southern half of Michigan, has been the scene of such a conflagration as this generation has not witnessed. The timber which covers this region pretty closely had been dried into the condition of tinder by the prolonged drought. The fire originated, perhaps, in an accident; perhaps in the efforts of some thoughtless settler to clear his lands without much labor. At any rate, it swept with frightful celerity across two counties and over a considerable part of two others, destroying some fifteen towns and villages, burning between five hundred and a thousand people to death, and crippling or blinding a great multitude of others. Some fifteen hundred families are left destitute, their homes in ashes, and all their crops burnt up except the potatoes, which have been roasted in the ground. The rains which checked the fire added new sufferings to those already endured by the poor victims. They are huddled together in any corner that offers shelter, without clothing, food or medical attendance. In such circumstances, there can be but one impulse in the hearts of our people. A far greater distress than that of Memphis three years ago, appeals to their sympathy for substantial help. Memphis, we notice, was one of the first places to take up collections for the Michigan sufferers. Were there no higher motive to action, the people of every community in the land might remind themselves that it may be their turn next to be prostrated by one of these terrible and irresistible calamities, which force a cry for help from the rest. Memphis appealed to our poverty in a time of industrial depression. Michigan asks help out of our abundance, when the marts and the workshops are full, and labor finds employment in plenty.

PENNSYLVANIA has a little bill of over \$3,000,000 in taxes against the Standard Oil Company, which the authorities of the Commonwealth seem disposed to press. It is true that the Company is chartered by the State of Ohio, but true, also, that it has got into its hands all but a monopoly of one of the largest industries of this State, and that it pays no taxes to Ohio or any other State. To force up the price of petroleum, it keeps a good sized ocean of it out of the market in its huge storage tanks. It is, in every proper sense, a Pennsylvania corporation. It trades and erects its reservoirs on our soil, and fights every attempt of our citizens to relieve the oil business of the yoke it imposes. The tax is exactly such a State royalty as every country exacts of such industries, and it is disgraceful to the State that it has not been collected long ago.

SOME seventy-five tramps recently helped themselves to free transportation on a freight train on the Pennsylvania Railroad, and resisted the efforts of the train-hands to dispossess them. About twenty of them have been arrested and held for trial in Harrisburg.

This is but one incident of a great number of the same character at this time of year. The tramps are migrating to the South-west at the close of summer. They have exhausted the employment furnished by berry-gathering and fruit-picking, and they are looking for work on the levees, the cotton plantations and the herdruns of a warmer climate. They are not, as many people assume, an absolutely idle and useless part of the population. They are the mobilized element of American labor, and they shift about from one region to another with the change of the seasons and the opportunities for employment. The empty freight cars of the great trunk-roads are their usual means of transportation till they reach the Mississippi, when they exercise their wits in stealing a steamboat ride to some place nearer the Gulf. It is evident that the Pennsylvania Railroad is tired of carrying these gentlemen gratuitously to their destinations, and means these arrests as an advertisement to the fraternity that they must choose some other route to the West. Other roads have shown similar spurts of energy in dealing with the class, but there have been instances in which towns on the westward route of this annual migration have chartered freight cars for the safe and speedy conveyance of these journeymen to the Mississippi, rather than have the railroad deposit them where they were not wanted. Harrisburg has been noted for the vigor with which she has cleared herself of such visitors. She hardly will thank the railroad for these arrests.

THE Fair Trade agitation seems to gain ground in England. Every week adds to the number of Tory members of Parliament who have jumped down on this side of the fence. If BEACONSFIELD were still alive, we have no doubt that he would throw himself into the current with all his energies. He was cogitating an Imperial Zollverein at the time of his defeat last year. The Tories of Canada were encouraged to hope that, in exchange for absolute Free Trade with England in manufactures, they would receive a virtual monopoly of the export of food to England, through the imposition of protective duties on our American wheat. One of the late Earl's speeches pointed to Manitoba as the future granary of England. Sir ALEXANDER GALT was on his way to London to negotiate the details of the plan, when the elections put a period to that and to much besides. Had the Tories known as much as they do now, they would have fought those elections on the Fair Trade issue, and put before the constituencies their plan for limiting Free Trade to countries and colonies which reciprocate it. But, with all his boldness, Lord BEACONSFIELD was not bold enough for this.

The Liberals are arrayed solidly against the Fair Trade proposal. Not one of them, either among the leaders or the lesser lights, has given it his adherence. But they are more than annoyed by its evident popularity. Mr. BRIGHT has left off calling Protectionists idiots, and tries to account for the reaction against Free Trade by a reference to the vast losses which bad years have inflicted on England. But he evidently hopes that Lord DERBY is right in speaking of the distress in English manufacturing districts as a temporary check which England is strong enough to meet and survive. We are not so sure of this. The policy which England has pursued for more than a century is only possible through the constant increase and extension of her manufactures. All the growth of her population, besides a large part of her agriculturists, goes to the factory. So long as ever-new markets were found for cottons and cutlery, the policy prospered. But when the rest of the world found it to its advantage to make its own cottons and cutlery, England began to lose markets where she could not even afford to cease gaining. Hence, her present distress is not one which strikes only her neglected agriculture. Her commercial supremacy is at stake, and nothing now can save her from many of the mischiefs of a persistent and ruinous policy.

ONE sign of the times in England is the strike of the cotton-spinners against the cotton-importers. When the main supply of a necessary article passes through a single port, artificial enhancements of its value become the rule of the market. The dealers come to an understanding as to the prices they will ask. But the English cotton business can no longer afford this "trader's tax," as Mr. CAREY called it. They must have cotton at the lowest price at which it can be sold them, and, failing that, they will rather stop their spinning-mills than run them at a certain loss. Their margin for profit, in the face of American, German and Indian competition, is too small to allow of any extra profits to Liverpool importers. So they have struck against the "ring."

THE Liberal victory in Tyrone must have been as delightful as it was unexpected to the English Premier. Every one expected that Mr. PARNELL's resolve to run a Land League candidate would result in securing the Tories an easy victory. But the tenants of the North of Ireland are not ready to follow Mr. PARNELL's lead. He mustered only nine hundred votes for his candidate. The meaning of this is that Ulster isolates herself once more from the other three provinces. Her people regard the new Land Law as a substantial gain for the tenant class, and they are resolved to give it a fair trial. They do not think Mr. PARNELL quite honest in his denunciations of the Law. They fear he is thinking more of what will keep the Land League powerful, than of what will do the tenant justice. There is some justice in this view. The Land Law does not do for the Irish tenants as much as was hoped. But it must put a stop to the confiscation of the tenants' improvements which has been going on in Ireland for centuries, and which has been a principal obstacle to all Irish improvement. It also provides better facilities for the acquisition of estates by the tenants, than Ireland has had before. It is, besides, far too soon to pronounce with certainty on the actual workings of so complicated a measure. That very elaborateness in detail which defied the penetration of all the Home Rulers except Mr. HEALY, of all the Conservatives except Mr. GIBSON, and all the Liberals except Mr. LAW, while a reason for objecting to the bill in committee, is also a reason for abstaining from such snap judgments on the Law as Mr. PARNELL has been offering to his followers.

THE preparations for an Irish exhibition of native manufactures goes forward with some vigor. It is chiefly significant, in our opinion, as the opening of the second great Irish question. England has acquired a good deal of new light on the political economy of land while settling the Irish land question. It may be her privilege to get quite as much light on the economy of manufactures before she is done with Ireland.

More practical than the exhibition at Dublin, are the resolutions passed by the Guardians of the Poor in many Irish Unions, that they will buy no supplies for the poor-houses which are not of Irish manufacture. In this movement, the Tory guardians seem to take the lead; and, indeed, the whole question is one on which the Tories and the Land League are likely to co-operate against the Liberals.

THE prospects that M. GAMBETTA will become the Premier without any resistance from M. FERRY grow stronger. One of his papers claim that the decree assigning him this rank has already been prepared. In the meantime, he has made an announcement which must be of great importance to the industrial politics of France. It seems he is a Free Trader, or at least entertains the belief that France is past the stage at which protective duties are required by her industries. His convictions in the matter cannot be very strong. He acquiesced in the adoption of the new tariff, and in the purpose of the Ministry to make no abatement in com-

mercial treaties beyond one-fourth of the duties it imposes. While always ready enough to make fight against legislation which he did not like, he left the Chamber of Deputies altogether in the dark as to his dislike of the financial policy pursued by the FERRY Ministry. It is only now, after a general election in which he made nothing of this issue, that he appears before France in his new rôle, as a disciple of MM. COBDEN and ROUHER. M. GAMBETTA, as Premier, will of course, resume the negotiations with England for a new commercial treaty. He will probably use the discretion given him by the law to continue the old treaty until February 8th. That he will abandon that feature of the new tariff which substitutes specific for *ad valorem* duties, we do not believe. He will see that England, with her specific tariff, has no right to ask such a change. But he will make larger concessions than did his predecessors as regards the reduction of duties, and will approximate to something like the terms of the COBDEN Treaty. He will not do this without encountering very sharp opposition. The Protectionists are a very strong party in France,—strong in every political division, except the BONAPART-ists and the Radicals. In the Senate they have the majority, and in the Chamber, if they are not a majority yet, they form the most solid and decided party on any issue which concerns the financial policy of the Republic.

THE exact meaning of the meeting of the Emperors of Germany and Russia is a matter over which many people are puzzling themselves, but have discovered nothing. There can be no doubt that the impulse to ask a conference was a sudden one on the part of the Czar, and was suggested by Emperor WILHELM's presence in the eastern half of his dominions to attend a military review. There can be no doubt, also, that more than the courtesies of kingship were in question. For an uncrowned Czar to ask such a meeting outside of his own dominions, was a breach of etiquette which would not have been risked for courtesy's sake. Besides, M. GIERS, of the Russian Foreign Office, and Prince BISMARCK were both present at the long and serious talk which took place between the two Emperors. Some think it means that ALEXANDER III. is prepared to throw overboard the Panslavic, anti-Teutonic party, who have thus far dominated his counsels. But this is an overstrained inference. The German Emperor has no interest in the Teutonic bureaucrats who have long misgoverned Russia; and, so long as the Panslavists make him no trouble in Posen, he probably does not care a fig for their theories and their influence. Another view is that the interview was arranged by the Czar's father-in-law, who fears that the disturbances between the nobles and the peasants of Denmark will endanger his hold on the throne, and he desires the support of the two Emperors against any possible uprising. This is a possible but improbable, explanation. No Danish king would dare to ask German aid unless he meant to break utterly with his subjects and to rule in their despite. Between Denmark and Germany there can be no friendship, so long as North Sleswick is kept from its right place—under the Danish sceptre. More probable than any of these theories, is the view that the conference had reference to the larger politics of Europe, and to a co-operation of the great powers in their solution of all the outstanding problems. The course of affairs all along the line of Northern Africa shows that the dissolution of the Turkish Empire cannot be postponed. Were it but in the way of an emphatic and friendly protest, the Czar must speak his mind with regard to Germany's alliance with Austria and her disposition to favor the HAPSBURG-ers in the new distribution of territories inhabited by Slavic Christian peoples. This may be the meaning of the conference; but emperors can keep secrets even better than conspirators, and no one knows what these two talked of so earnestly when they came together.



THE French advance on Kairvan has begun with the termination of the season of excessive heat, but no one expects it will be a holiday campaign. The French are clearly unequal to the work of controlling the country they have added to their possessions. Outside the walls of a few well-garrisoned cities, no European can show himself without the risk of meeting a sudden death. So serious is the difficulty, that all thought of a still further extension of French dominion is abandoned. The semi-official papers begin to compliment the Tripolitan Government on its marked regard for its international duties; and it no longer excites apprehensions of fresh aggressions when one of them remarks that the Government of Morocco manifestly is unable to enforce obedience upon its nomad subjects.

### THE QUESTION BEFORE THE PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE advocates of "ring" nominations must not be permitted to conceal or disguise the fact that the first act of aggression and the first offence against the public peace came from that side. Before the Convention met, it is well known that, by a spontaneous movement in which Republicans of all classes participated equally, the people had substantially made choice of a candidate. There had been no effort to lead them up to anybody's support, and it was a period of unusual quiet, because nobody came personally into the field. That spontaneous choice was Senator DAVIES; and many open supporters of his candidacy, who ultimately went to Mr. BAILY, would have adhered to Mr. DAVIES if left to the exercise of their own judgment. But the "ring" leaders feared any able and impartial candidate, and they bolted the nomination; they organized a faction against it so powerful as to drive many men into submission who would have been glad to retain their liberty. If the delegates regularly chosen had been permitted to represent their districts and themselves, Mr. DAVIES would have received the nomination.

These facts control the whole case; it is one, primarily, of a revolt of the bosses, or of an organized attempt to coerce a nomination against the known public will. It is not the resistance of a faction to a regular nomination in any proper sense; the real faction was that which attacked the popular choice, because he was not the servant of the ring. Under these circumstances, self-respecting Republicans feel that they are challenged to manly resistance or dishonorable surrender. It is not an answer to say that there is no great election pending, and that, therefore, it is better to submit this time, and make the fight at some future time; this is the precise time to decide whether an insult shall be submitted to because it is not an important election. The State could even endure the election of a Democrat; and, if the number of Independent Republicans is too small, and their courage insufficient, to measure strength successfully with the "ring," let us know it now.

It will not be necessary to do more than to bring out the vote of those who have been tried in the recent contest for liberty and self-control on the part of the true Republican masses, to decide the one question now before the people. There are a hundred thousand such votes in any contingency—probably three hundred thousand,—who would be certain to sustain the courageous leader now in the field. With such a canvass as is likely to be inaugurated, the vote for Mr. WOLFE is more likely to be above three hundred thousand than below it. It is not a time for doubt or for fear. The faction that hopes to insult the people with impunity because it is an off year, has miscalculated the situation, and has invited a controversy at a time when many honest and peaceful men are quite willing to lay aside their coats to give them a thrashing.

Some people are over-eager to remark that the Democrats are not going to do anything to help Mr. WOLFE's candidacy. They are neither asked nor wanted to render to this movement any service but one. Let them put forward so good a candidate for the Treasurership, that no Independent will fear that, by voting for Mr. WOLFE, he may help to elect a worse man than Mr. BAILY. Let them look through their ranks for a man of the make of Mayor KING or Controller PATTISON, and present him to the State as their candidate. By doing so, they will strengthen the hands of those who are revolting against the rule of the CAMERON-QUAY-MAGEE-OLIVER-McMANES-KEMBLE Ring, and possibly they will secure the election of their own man. But this is no time for them to put forward a political "nubbin" or a hack candidate who has been hanging on the skirts of their party waiting for a chance to be nominated for something. A more insignificant man than Mr. BAILY they hardly can select. But they have a good many right at hand whose nomination would help the ringsters to bring uncertain voters back to the support of the CAMERON-ian candidate.

We have been surprised by the very wide extent of the support Mr. WOLFE is receiving throughout the State. His candidacy seems to have been a happy inspiration, in which he "took no counsel with flesh and blood." But it was one to which the response was both general and hearty from every quarter. Mr. WOLFE's record in the matter of the prosecution of the KEMBLE Ring has made his name familiar in every corner of the Commonwealth, and will secure him the support of all those who realize the disgrace then inflicted on the State by the very men who have put Mr. BAILY forward for the State Treasurership.

Of course, the strength of the Independent movement lies in the two great cities of the State. They have suffered the most from "ring" government; they have shown the most decisive purpose to cast off the "ring's" control. Without the majorities given by Pittsburg and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania is a strongly Democratic State. And both Philadelphia and Pittsburg declared last February that they are not the property of the Republican party when better men than the regular Republican candidates are in the field.

### WHAT WILL CONGRESS DO?

IT is a familiar feature of the routine of the proceedings in Congress to hear the Speaker *pro tem.* report, when the Committee of the Whole rises, that "the House has had under consideration Bill No. Blank, for the Promotion of Blank, and has come to no resolution thereon." In fact, the Honorable House has not considered Bill No. Blank at all. For so many hours as the Committee of the Whole has been in session, each individual member has spoken only to Buncombe, and each and every other member than the one speaking has engaged in such convenient private business as the case permitted, and, since many of these private items required presence in the lunch-room, or elsewhere, the House is on these occasions thin,—very thin.

It is for these reasons that we have few laws in this country framed principally for the public good. What good we get comes in as a rider on an appropriation bill, and not one good intention in a hundred escapes the inevitable ruling out of order. It is out of order to do anything for the public mail service; out of order to do anything for shipping. It is "not germane to the bill" to secure any public end, or to provide for any public service not already directed by law. It is a kind of general proposition that many members have come to believe is found somewhere in the Constitution, that there shall be no new legislation on any subject "not herein before provided for." If any measure is launched designed to accomplish the object with which foreign Governments almost

exclusively occupy themselves, it is at once assailed and obstructed in every possible way. The rules of the House hit it at every turn; the thing itself, being out of order, cannot come up in order, and in the ordinary sphere and function of the appropriation bills a new public service certainly has no place whatever. There is one idea in legislation, or one declaration, however, which is always easily called up under the suspension of the rules; it is the reaffirmance of the MONROE Doctrine. Doing nothing ourselves to open the Pacific to the magnificent commerce soon to be developed in that quarter, we hurl rebuke and defiance at DE LESSEPS, and do the best we can to scare him off the continent. Would Congress favor a canal at Panama, or assist its citizens in its construction? Will Congress pay for a mail service, either on the Gulf or on the Pacific? Will Congress protect the interests of its citizens in South America, or do anything to restore order among those contending countries? There is little to justify a hope in regard to the restoration of the interests we all see have been lost, but it is still the duty of intelligent citizens to continue their efforts,

The first and most imperative of the real duties of Congress is to consider at once the duties of our position relatively to foreign countries. As the representatives of industrial progress, we are rich, but we lose the advantage of these resources the moment we get beyond our own frontiers. We need relief from the anomalous presence of competitors on the other side of an invisible line constituting the Canadian frontier. A few resolute emigrants from the Highlands of Scotland masquerade as rulers of an empire there, and borrow uncounted millions in England on pretext of binding the parts together that instantly fall apart again. The presence of a vigorous Government on this side, and the adoption of a vigorous policy, would recover both our mail-bags and our honor.

In assuming that our hitherto feeble national policy has been the fault of Congress, we are at least chiefly correct, for Congress has accomplished little for several sessions that has pleased the people. The obstructions formed there recently would do honor to the old *régime* of Democratic negation that impoverished the people for almost a quarter of a century before the war. It is early in the season to call upon Congress for anything, but still it must be borne in mind that by December first the two Houses will begin preparation for adjournment over the holidays. Vigorous work must be done before December, if Congress, this year, is to legislate at all.

#### "EGYPT FOR THE EGYPTIANS."

THE general mutiny of the Egyptian army adds one more to the elements of disturbance which distract the Old World. It is not a mere barrack disturbance, such as can be put down by rounds of chain-shot. It is the uprising of the only representative and organized body which the country possesses. Behind the army is a nation, oppressed and disorganized, *exploité* by foreign commissions for the benefit of rapacious creditors. Hence, the demand of the army is not for higher pay, or even the payment of the heavy arrears due to it. It is that CHETIF Pacha, the only ruler the people trust, shall take the place at the head of the Government, that the army itself be enlarged, and that the country receive a Constitution. Remarkable demands, surely, from such a quarter.

The troubles of Egypt are not of recent origin. The first plague was a spendthrift Khedive. The predecessor of the present supporter of that dignity was a man whose tastes were more royal than his revenues. To make his palaces greater and his harems more populous, he went on the *bourses* of Western Europe to pledge the revenues of his Government. To lend money to a Moslem ruler was a recognized risk. No one would do it, except at a rate far in excess of that offered by any country which had adopted the

Occidental habit of paying its debts. The Khedive got money at eight per cent. nominally. The real rate was thirteen to fifteen per cent. To pay the interest, the Khedive needed still more loans on the same terms. European speculators suggested that he should go into the business of improving Egypt, assuring him there was a mint of money in improvements. He borrowed new millions, still at the old rates, to undertake this work. A very large part of these went to harems and palaces. The rest were spent, not in public works, but on private plantations and manufactories for the Khedive's private benefit. He did not buy the land needed for his sugar-plantations; he took it after AHAB's fashion. He did not purchase the labor needed to till the land, or build or run his factories; he required it. He stripped the *fellahs* of the bulk of their possessions. He reduced them to the virtual slavery of forced and unpaid labor under the lash. He devised every kind of tax by which he could extract another piastre from their unspeakable poverty. They had never been prosperous. Under this improving ruler, supported by the applause and coin of the West, they were brought to a condition of chronic starvation and virtual slavery.

At last, the smash came. None of the improvements had prospered. Harems and palaces had exhausted the public purse. The Khedive was bankrupt. If it had been any other country, the creditors might have sucked their thumbs, just as the creditors of Turkey, of Peru, and of some American States are doing. But Egypt contains the Suez Canal, constructed by French enterprise. Egypt lies on the road to British India. Ever since that canal had been built, France and England had been on the verge of a quarrel as to their comparative influence in Egypt. So long as the Khedive was independent, he played the one off against the other. His bankruptcy furnished an opportunity for making a division of the power between them on amicable and permanent terms. So they stepped in for a virtual conquest of Egypt. They deposed and banished the spendthrift Khedive, and put a tool of their own in his place. They set up a commission of Frenchmen and Englishmen to administer the country for the benefit of its French and English creditors. They got the Sultan, as suzerain, to sanction all their proceedings.

The new commission knew their business. In their eagerness to prevent any injustice to foreign creditors, they paid no attention to the claims of the *fellahs*, whom he had robbed shamelessly. They lightened no taxes. They continued the exaction of forced and unpaid labor *under the lash*. They kept possession of the plantations he had stolen from the people. They set themselves to squeeze Egypt to the very utmost, and to apply all the methods of the Oriental tax-gatherer to keep its treasury full for the benefit of foreigners.

The creditors of Egypt deserve no sympathy, and have no right to any such intervention. They have been repaid a good deal more than every franc they lent to the Khedive. They charged so high a rate of interest, because of the risk, that they secured themselves against loss. They should have been left to take their luck, as they expected they would be. Instead of that, the country has been beggared for their benefit.

The mutiny of the troops is an uprising against this enormity of a foreign rule for the benefit of exorbitant creditors. It means "Egypt for the Egyptians." We think it deserves the sympathy and support of the civilized world. The country has grand resources. The common people are worthy of their country. They have no political experience, but they are a simple, honest, virtuous and frugal race, partly Moslems of Arabian mixed blood, partly Coptic descendants of the old Egyptians. At any rate, they are entitled to the removal of this incubus from their energies, and the restoration, at least, of the status they enjoyed fifty years ago, before they had an improving Khedive.



## OCCASIONAL NOTES.

MR. FRANK B. SANBORN, in his address on "Social Science in America," read at the Saratoga meeting, the past week, referring to the President, said: "It may indeed be reckoned some alleviation of the barbarism of Russian revolution that assassination, popularized like everything else in this democratic century, has been handed down from the princes of the royal blood and the court favorites to the leaders of the party of progress. 'I saw the new Czar,' said a lady who witnessed the coronation of the first Alexander, 'walking to the church, preceded by the assassins of his father, escorted by the assassins of his brother, and followed by his own.' In those days murder was the passport to the imperial succession,—in ours, it is the exceptional and abhorred rescript, for the service of which we have been waiting these many dismal weeks. Even in free America, God grant that the decree may never be registered as it has lately taken effect in Russia; and that the American people may not see twice within twenty years the sovereign power handed down to the unwilling legatee of an assassin!"

CRIME, as well as women, follows the fashion. It is, indeed, one of the singular coincidences of history, that crime repeats itself rapidly. A few years ago, the defence in a celebrated Maryland murder trial was "cerebro-spinal meningitis." Until then, "the public" had never heard of cerebro-spinal meningitis, but, being so largely advertised, it at once became popular as a cause of death. Although, in the murder case alluded to, cerebro-spinal meningitis was not the cause of death, that disease was immediately seized upon by coroners all over the country as a good reason to insert in the ignorant death-bills returned by them. And for over a year after the trial was ended, cerebro-spinal meningitis rivalled that old coroner's stand-by, "heart disease," in the number of deaths attributed to it. And, as it is in crime, so it is in politics, preaching, fashion, letters, and life generally. Missouri has distinguished herself in the number of her railroad robberies and the freedom and success of her highwaymen. Now the fashions of Missouri have become the fashions of New Hampshire. A stage coach is stopped in true highwayman style; a Yankee CLAUDE DUVAL steps out from behind a boulder, orders "hands up," and with dexterity and politeness robs the innocent passengers of their valuables. With a bow, he disappears as mysteriously as he came. Still another instance to illustrate our text. The political littleness of last year developed the services of forgers as political agents. The Morey letter was the Democratic disgrace of the campaign, but the miserable infamy of it does not seem to have taught its lesson. The chances of Mr. FRANK S. BLAIR, Readjuster candidate for Attorney-General in Virginia, have apparently seemed too good to somebody, who thereupon attempted to damage him by producing a letter in which most disastrous statements are made. Mr. BLAIR has pronounced and proved the letter a forgery. But, because there is a similarity between the writing of the forged letter and Mr. BLAIR's own,—we presume no one would suppose Mr. BLAIR to have written the letter if it was in an entirely dissimilar style,—his political opponents hasten to pronounce it genuine. They will doubtless, after the campaign, wonder how they could have been so deceived.

MARYLAND, we are glad to note, is paying a good deal of attention to reform in the administration of criminal justice, a necessity of the times more pronounced than almost any other. Judge PINKNEY, of Baltimore, in addressing the Grand Jury the other day, called attention to the great increase in the labors, both of the Court and the Grand Jury, resulting from the multiplication of petty cases coming within the jurisdiction of the Court, in consequence of recent legislation. Maryland is not alone in this matter; all the States are similarly situated, save possibly New York, which has not yet had time to discover the difficulties and tanglements of her new code. The general tendency to inquire into this machinery of our criminal justice is on the increase, and happily.

THERE seems to be a war-cloud—lined, possibly, with silver gongs, fans, and embroidered silks, as an Eastern war-cloud ought to be,—rising slowly between China and Japan, and shadowing the Loo Choo Islands. Both the authorities and the newspapers in Japan and China are very belligerent in tone in regard to the

possession of these islands, which are claimed by both countries. China is engaged in the significant business of gathering arms and ships of war, and vital points on the coast are being rapidly fortified. Foreign intervention will probably not avail, and it is doubtful if it is best that it should. If a war, which probably will not be a long one, can settle this long-standing dispute, the appeal to the high court of war will be judicious and profitable.

TOUCHING Japan, much dissatisfaction is expressed by American merchants on account of the sudden notification issued by the Government in relation to kerosene oil. According to the order issued, no oil testing a lower temperature than 120° Fahrenheit may be imported after January 1 next. There are already on the way thither many cargoes of kerosene oil below that test, which cannot arrive until a later date, and, if the order be enforced, much of the oil will be rendered unsalable, to the great loss of shippers or consignees. The foreign Ministers have been appealed to to gain an extension of the date when the rise in the standard shall be insisted upon. This matter seriously affects the interest of many merchants in the Eastern States.

THE London papers have taken up the subject of the Canadian Pacific project, and are handling our Canadian brothers with very little gentleness. LABOUCHERE says of the Manitoban colonization scheme: "The Canadians spend money and we provide it. That has been the arrangement hitherto, and it has worked splendidly—for the Canadians—too well for them to try any other plan with a scheme like the Pacific Railway, which they must know is never likely to yield a single red cent of interest on the money that may be sunk in it. A friend of mine told me—and he knew what he was talking about,—that he did not believe the much-touted Manitoba settlement would hold out many years. The people who have gone there cannot stand the coldness of the winters. Men and cattle are frozen to death in numbers that would rather astonish the intending settler if he knew; and those that are not killed outright are often maimed for life by frost-bites. Its street nuisances kill the people with malaria, or drive them mad with plagues of insects; and to keep themselves alive during the long winter they have to imitate the habits of the Esquimaux. Those who want to know what it is like should read the not-yet-forgotten books of Colonel BUTLER. His 'Great Lone Land' is the land of which the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has yet five-and-twenty million acres to sell, and it is through a death-dealing region of this kind that the new railway is to run." Justifying our belief, the same authority—and LABOUCHERE is a most excellent authority among an influential class of Londoners,—continues: "One of these days, when the load gets too heavy, Ontario is pretty certain to go over to the States into which it dovetails, and where its best trade outlet is. When that day comes, the 'Dominion' will disappear. With that contingency ahead, and with the prospect of another £50,000,000 or so to be added to the debt, can it be said that Canada unguaranteed four per cents. are worth their present price? This 'Dominion' is, in short, a 'fraud' all through, and is destined to burst up like any other 'fraud.' Then, and not, I suppose, till then, the British tax-payer will ask why we 'guarantee' so much of this sham Government's debt."

THERE is a certain solemnity, not to say ceremonial decorum, about the every-day conservatism of British officials, that is highly amusing to us where freer currents and freer honesty in innovations prevail. We have over and over again laughed at the proverbial national English ignorance of America and Americans. There are very few Englishmen who can tell, off-hand, who were the Presidents of this country. This, however, is their loss, not ours. And now we note a fact that, in the vulgate, is "enough to make a horse laugh." Says the able, ever-brilliant *Pall Mall Gazette*: "An important question of poor-law administration is about to be settled by the Richmond Board of Guardians. Among the literature supplied to the inmates of the workhouse there has been discovered an illustrated journal which actually holds the opinion that 'the time is ripe either for the reform or the extinction of the House of Lords,' and goes so far as to ask the question, 'Why cumbereth it the ground?' Many guardians are of opinion that the minds of poor persons ought not to be exercised on such

subjects, and the Board is to decide at its next meeting whether it will continue to take in so political a print. It will be very interesting to learn whether in-door relief embraces relief from the duty of the gratification of meditating on the Constitution of one's country. The workhouse system, by the many wholesome deterrents connected with it, has undoubtedly checked the growth of pauperism, and the efficacy of the system may perhaps be augmented if the British pauper is made thoroughly to comprehend that while in that position his thoughts will on no account be allowed to rise above his gruel."

### PUBLIC OPINION.

#### MR. WOLFE AND HIS POSITION.

POLITICS in Pennsylvania present a somewhat curious face to the looker-on who may not quite understand why there is a Republican candidate for State Treasurer who has no nominating convention behind him. One reason why Mr. Wolfe, who has nominated himself, is in the field, he states to be because, in his opinion and that of hosts of others, "General Baily is the choice and distinctive candidate of the bosses, and not the free choice of a majority, either of the delegates in the Convention or of the Republican voters of the State." Mr. Wolfe's act caused a sensation in newspaper sanctums, and variously is the effect of the act estimated. A silly turn is given to the discussion by a number of Cameron newspapers who open upon Mr. Wolfe whole batteries of abuse. For, as says the *Pittsburg Dispatch*, (Ind. Rep.) "Mr. Wolfe's 'six reasons' are certainly worthy of respect. Their force cannot be destroyed by ridicule or abuse. At any rate, his candidacy is a fixed fact and will have to be looked squarely in the face. The people at last have a chance to say, without any real injury to the party organization, whether they prefer personal rule to popular rule, whether they prefer machine manipulation to untrammelled conventions and caucuses." This opinion is entitled to a great deal more respect than this from the editorial columns of the *Norristown Herald*: "Of course, Cameron could not surrender to Garfield completely enough to please Wolfe, who is for Wolfe first and Garfield and the Republican party a long way afterwards. By way of showing his fondness for Garfield, to whom he professes a deep devotion, he comes out as independent candidate for State Treasurer, with about as much prospect of election as he has of inheriting the estate of the man in the moon. His side-show is intended to secure his friend Garfield the wholesome endorsement of a Democratic victory in Pennsylvania, and the Democrats will greet his noble independence with the liveliest approval. It is about time Wolfe joined the Old Line Whigs or some other party small enough for him to be one of its great men." The *Reading Times and Dispatch*, the *Harrisburg Telegraph*, the *Philadelphia Evening News*, the *Philadelphia Bulletin*, the *Stroudsburg Jeffersonian*, and others, treat the matter similarly.

The papers that honestly oppose Mr. Wolfe's act as injudicious, are fewer in number, but of more ability, and occupying more important positions. Thus, the *New York Tribune* holds: "The only result of Mr. Wolfe's course, if he succeeds in drawing many votes after him, will be the loss of the State to the Republicans. The State Convention was conducted in a regular manner, its nominee is an unobjectionable man, and its platform is certainly as cordially in sympathy with President Garfield's Administration as any man could wish. Mr. Wolfe has acted in a hasty and ill-considered manner. He should hasten to recall his announcement before it harms the party." The *Philadelphia Press* is of the same mind, as is the *Lancaster New Era*. This paper remarks: "It is scarcely necessary to say to its intelligent readers that *The New Era* regrets the course pursued by its friend, Hon. Charles S. Wolfe. While it is an Independent Republican journal, earnestly desirous of aiding to secure the largest possible amount of political reform, it believes that, as a journal pledged to Republican principles, it can best serve the public good by contending for that reform within the lines of the Republican organization until experience demonstrates that all effort in that direction is utterly hopeless. But there never was a time, since we began our warfare against personal rule and official corruption within our party lines, when we had so little reason to be discouraged as now. . . . Nor have we reason to despair, in view of what Independent sentiment has accomplished in the State. It was that sentiment, under the inspiration of Charley Wolfe, which sent a coterie of the corrupt

bosses to jail, making their legislative practices odious for all time to come, and compelling the Pardon Board, composed of bosses no less guilty in a moral aspect, to open the prison doors in violation of their own rules and of common decency and of public sentiment. It was that sentiment, imperfectly organized, which compelled the machine for the first time in its history to abandon the dictates of the caucus and accept as a candidate for United States Senator a man who was not obnoxious to the bolters. Even in the late convention, while the Independent sentiment of the State was outraged by flaunting two of the pardon brokers in their face, and endorsing the bad as well as the good official acts of a third, the Stalwarts were themselves humiliated by the declaration that the offence for which the President is now suffering was 'a conscientious exercise of executive power,' which declaration involved a direct condemnation of Conkling and his Stalwart adherents.

But, nevertheless, we think he has made a mistake. He should have remained with his friends, who propose to fight these pardon bosses within the lines of the party until they go down to the same level as their friends, Kemble, Petroff & Co. The mass of the honest people of Pennsylvania have more confidence in the honesty and patriotism of Charley Wolfe than they have in the entire syndicate of bosses; and, no matter what the results of this new and unexpected diversion may be, the honest sentiment of the people will be sure to assert itself sooner or later in their overthrow." This is more sharply put by the *Scranton Republican*: "This is a sensible conclusion, and the only one which any Independent Republican can consistently arrive at. The independence that would transfer party prestige to the Democracy, merely for the sake of smashing the machine, is rather a spurious article. Reforms must be effected, as Senator Stewart expresses it, 'by regular methods within the party,' and not by such a serious mistake as Mr. Wolfe has made."

More clearly and with greater accuracy, the *Easton Free Press* sums up just what the majority of people will say to themselves upon considering the matter: "As we view the work of the Convention on Thursday, Mr. Wolfe is not justified in the course he has taken. His independent candidacy will be full of fire and vigor, because nobody doubts his ability; but whether Republicans will vote for him depends on the reasons he yet may state. If he shows any unfair handling of Davies delegates by the Cameron leaders in the Convention, or the use of unfair means, his revolt will find plenty of endorsers at the polls. But if he is simply giving way to impulse to avenge the past wrongs of Cameronism at this time, we believe the party will say that the time has not been well chosen, and that the defeat of a Cameron candidate had better be postponed till the meeting of the State Convention next year. But let him show a good reason in the machine management of the last Convention why the line should be drawn between 'bossism' and the Independent Republican element this year, and Wolfe will get more Republican votes for State Treasurer than Baily. If the issue can be fairly raised on the question of whether the Independent or the Cameron element has the greater popular strength in the party, this would be a good year to have the demonstration made. We believe that demonstration would be against Cameron by a large majority. But the reasons must be good for setting aside the candidate of the Convention. Mr. Wolfe is a far abler man than Mr. Baily. He is just as good a Republican, and Independent Republicans owe a great deal to his efforts. His endorsement of the Administration is sincere, while that recorded by the Cameron Convention is, so far as Cameron is concerned, an unmeaning and hollow mockery. But he asks Republicans to do a serious thing,—to engage in an important revolutionary movement. Let him state his reasons for the party to consider. He will be tried on the specific grounds he states for his present candidacy against the machine candidate." The same journal gives also the reasons which will doubtless animate Mr. Wolfe and his followers: "The proper object of the Independents is always worth fighting for, either in victory or defeat. It is bound to prevail because, whatever the shrewdness and skill arrayed against it, it cannot be injured by defeat. Its advocates are always backed up by a strong argument, the merit of which must be admitted. That object is to rescue the party in the State from the domination of one man whose control is used to keep himself in a position of political prominence he does not adorn and is not fit to occupy, at the expense of the men in the State who have great qualities to develop in the arena of our politics. Don Cameron keeps a grade of men in office which is not creditable either to the party or to the State, and he does this to retain prominence for himself, which he would lose in part if able



and good men were in office as his friends. He dare not allow the best material of the party to do its proper share of political work, because he would be overshadowed. And it is simply a question as to whether or not he is to be permitted to have his way to the detriment of the State in national affairs. He uses the Board of Pardons and the official machinery of the State to advance his personal interests, because he is permitted to by the inefficiency of the men who oppose his leadership. That inefficiency will, one of these days, be succeeded by efficiency."

Words of comfort for Mr. Wolfe are printed by the Philadelphia *Times*, the Juniata *Democrat*, Easton *Sentinel*, Gettysburg *Compiler*, and the Boston *Herald*, a paper which takes always an intelligent interest in Pennsylvania affairs. The *Herald* says: "The announcement that Representative Wolfe will stand as an independent candidate for State Treasurer is the most encouraging political event of the year. This is a distinct assertion of the 'divine right to bolt.' It is a notice served upon the bosses that the independent voters are in earnest, and that their highest allegiance is not to a packed caucus or a machine-managed convention, but to themselves. Now, in view of these facts, what is the duty of voters with whom there is a principle in politics, and who are really in earnest in desiring to lift the level of party contests, and to restore to the people the management of their own affairs? There can be but one answer to this question, and that is, to smash the machine. For mark: It is conceded that the plan of the managers was carried through in open disregard of the 'unmistakable choice and sentiment of the people'; that their victory was won by the usual means of wire-pulling, packed caucuses, and rotten borough delegations; that the candidate was chosen and put through in pursuance of a 'policy of proscription' against the Republicans who dared to stand up for their constituents against the dictation of Boss Cameron in the election of a Senator last winter; and that the purpose of the managers was notoriously to confirm their grip on the party organization in the State. What is political independence good for that accepts a candidate thus presented and ratifies a policy like this? Wherein does it differ from that subserviency which is the chief obstacle to reform? Will there ever be an end to bossism if the decree of the bosses is to be accepted with only a protest that they have made a mistake? How is it a 'mistake,' if they are given their own way, let them work it how they will? Mr. Cameron and his machine may always be trusted to select candidates who are of good personal character, and who have been 'gallant soldiers,' if it is thought that this will help them to any votes. But will the press please to tell us how long it thinks it will take to 'lift the party to the plane of its high mission,' if the machine is permitted to override the popular will, and by ring tricks and tactics force upon the voters candidates selected solely to perpetuate its power? The managers can very well afford to permit a hundred independent delegates to make 'a bold stand' on the floor of their convention and to pardon the frankness and honesty of editorial Mentors who fight their battles 'within the party,' if their game is not further interfered with. No; the only effectual protest is that made by Mr. Wolfe. When the managers are beaten at the polls, they begin to understand that this is a Government of the people, not a Government by bosses. The duty of the independent voters in Pennsylvania is to make junk of the machine."

A sign of the times and of the conflict is noted by the Pottsville *Miner's Journal*: "One very significant incident of Mr. Wolfe's 'independent' campaign is found in the gushing fervor with which every Democratic and guerrilla newspaper in the State is engaged in patting him on the back. They have all got 'principle,' and 'ring' and 'boss' as pat as though they were 'to the manner born,' and they are ostensibly far more concerned about 'reform' in the Republican party than they are about the success of Democratic principles or of the Democratic candidate. The bald fact is that they don't care a baubee about either 'reform' or Mr. Wolfe,—any further than they can use the latter as a catspaw to pull Democratic chestnuts out of the fire."

### NOISE.

MAN is naturally a noisy animal. To make a noise is the only lesson in which Nature herself has instructed him; and he is master of the art before he is even conscious of existence. High or low, good or bad, attain nearly the same proficiency in it. Nature recognizes no other patrimony in behalf of the most superior of her works. She cuts

off man with a shilling,—the art of noise-making being apparently of equally insignificant value,—while the fortunes of the most profligate of her offspring, the wild beasts, are made ample in a plentiful wardrobe, and, in a number of instances, the fee of a very considerable estate of land and water.

Man's inclination to make noise assumes the authority of a passion at his birth, and it prevails in every modification of humanity. It is the appetite which fashion has not at any time repealed. Philosophers, seeing the force of the passion, have been beating about for an explanation. One of them, Pascal, says that our love of noise proceeds from an instinctive aversion to our own thoughts, and that, if every wish we form could be analyzed, they would be traced, without exception, to that source. There may be reason in this. Melancholy is the natural ally of meditation. Joy, on the contrary, is made up of noise; it thunders forth in the cannonade of laughter and exorcises the neighborhood of pale cogitation and her passive train. Signor l'Allegro's life is nothing but a round of visits from the members of the great family of Noise. It would be impossible, and even if it were otherwise, it would be useless, to number up the proofs of the force of this passion over the human heart. Even when the senses are "steeped in forgetfulness," we do involuntary homage to the goddess of noise, and, like some savages who worship their idol by howling, we acknowledge her supremacy in the most sonorous accents. The whole business of life is to make a noise in the world. The statesman sacrifices to it his health, and not seldom something that ought to be dearer. The professional man builds all his hopes on making a noise. It is the only point, we believe, on which Republican, Democrat, Prohibitionist, Greenbacker, Labor-reformer, Fenian and Socialist agree.

The dweller in the country indulges in noise to a very reasonable extent. He cannot, of course, enjoy the luxurious pandemonium of the city streets, and being therefore condemned to a low diet of sound, he spends much of his time in "fetching shrill echoes from the hollow earth." Indeed, the passion is known to survive almost every other inhabitant of the human heart. It stuck to the Greeks after their liberty and their love of liberty were gone. The war with Rome, as everybody knows, ended in the subjugation of the Greeks, and, of course, tender of their liberties, by the victorious Consul. We are naturally much affected by noise. The power of music, which is essentially nothing but noise, over the passions, cannot be exaggerated. Possibly, the reader may interpose a mental protest on the noise of music, but so good an authority as Waller thus addresses a lady singing:

"While I listen to thy voice  
Chloris! I feel my life decay.  
That powerful noise  
Calls my flitting soul away."

There may be those who are dead to the concord of sweet sounds; but no heart can be indifferent to the loud shock of noise. Fear is very readily created by the noise of thunder, which the lightning-flash fails to awake. A man's mind may be so confused by the shouting of multitudes that he will involuntarily join in the hurrahs. Lucretius endeavored even to trace the universal acknowledgment of a presiding spirit, found in every state of man, to the impression of terror produced in him by the noise of the great convulsions of nature. Some savage nations to-day propitiate their gods by the noise of drums and trumpets.

Noise is the poet's world, and he has, over and over again, celebrated its versatile influence. The effect of the sound of the bells upon the human heart appears to have been understood in the remotest antiquity. The high priest among the Jews wore a little bell attached to his uppermost garment, and the sound was supposed to enliven the devotion of the people. The noise of bells was even thought to nourish the most amiable sentiments. Orlando introduces his appeal to the pity of the Duke by the following tender adjuration:

"If ever you have looked on better days;  
If ever been where bells have knoll'd to church;  
And know what 'tis to pity and be pitied."

We all know that no fancy costume of Folly or the fool is complete without its bells. Mæcenas, it is said, was cured of perpetual wakefulness by the falling of water, and Pliny tells a story of a Roman nobleman who used to be lulled to sleep by the noise of the rain. Without rural sounds, the Muses would scarcely patronize a country life; and, whatever the poets may say in praise of solitude, they always betray in their retreats a lurking partiality to the neighborhood of some choice cascade or vocal grove. Cowper was particularly affected by country noises, and in his fine description of the effects of natural sounds he says that the cawing rooks, the kites, the jay, and even the boding owl, had charms for him.

Every strong excitement impels us to noise. Savages go to battle with loud shouts and outcries. The armies of civilized nations do the same, partly with a view of striking terror to the hearts of the enemy, and to keep up the courage of the soldiers,—much as a small boy whistles so that the stillness of the darkness shall not exercise its usual terror. The oppressiveness of silence during the night produces often a panic in the hearts of the nervous. All good regiments carry bands

with them, that the noise of music may temper courage to the quality of true steel. Zisca, a Bohemian warrior, appreciated the virtues of noise, as he left his skin for a drum, the voice of which, he said, would rout the enemy. Cato the elder boasted that he had gained more victories by the throats of his army than by their swords; and Cæsar mentions the shouts of his regiments as one of the things that rendered them superior to the troops of Pompey. Military men admit that the noise of artillery does as much toward victory as the shots themselves, and a certain great soldier was wont to call the mouth of a great gun "hell-mouth," arguing that he who trembled not when one of them thundered, feared neither God nor the devil. Yet so naturally agreeable is the sound of noise to the ear, that even its most terrific notes have a proportion of the pleasing in them. Every variety of noise has its votary, either from taste or habit. Dr. Johnson could not survive a year's exile from the noises of the metropolis; all his bliss was centred in the tempestuous confluence of Temple Bar, and he has been known to "expire" at the rattling of a coach that was driving furiously along. Montaigne tells the story of a learned man who could not study conveniently except in the neighborhood of noise. He never could be solitary by himself, and found it necessary to arrange his retreat amid the uproar of the servants' hall. Many American journalists write better in the midst of confusion than is possible to them if entirely alone. Noise, of whatever kind, is popularly supposed to be a specific against the approach of evil spirits. The wagoners of Spain look entirely to the grating of their axle-trees for protection against their airy opponents. The virtues of Adam's voice have been celebrated by a saint of the twelfth century,—St. Hildegardis, in a Latin sermon, preached at Mayence. She says that, if it had remained the same after his fall that it was on his creation, the infirmity of human nature could not withstand it, and for that reason the Tempter made his fatal experiment on our general mother. No doubt, a noisy, storming manner carries authority with it. Lord Pembroke whispered it of Johnson, that his sayings would not appear half so extraordinary but for "his bow-wow way." Fame, herself, is represented by the poets as a noisy monster. Tragedy writers are very particularly beholden to noise. A stout stage trumpeter will readily put five or six of the Muses to blush in a single night. The reign of many a worthy emperor has been prolonged by a storm, while thunder is, perhaps, the safest antiseptic yet discovered.

On all other occasions, dulness and noise maintain a strict enmity. Handel introduced drums and cannons into his choruses for greater effect, which idea Gilmore borrowed for the monster noise jubilee of 1872. Guilt has a singular antipathy for noise. Confessions of crime have often been extorted by a sudden shock of noise. When Macbeth has effected his bloody deed, the least sound fills him with alarm. The knocking from without petrifies him with fear. "How is't with me," he says, "when every noise appals me?" When Lear hears the tempest rattling over his head, he exclaims in a most natural manner:

"Tremble, thou wretch,  
Thou hast within thee undivulged crimes  
Unwhipp'd of justice."

Noise, too, is ancient,—more ancient than silence,—if we may believe the poets. Pope, in his "Address to Silence," makes out silence to be senior to creation:

"Thine was the sway ere heaven was formed, or earth,  
Ere fruitful thought conceived creation's birth."

Milton, however, settles the matter otherwise in his description of what was before creation:

"Illimitable ocean! without bound,  
Where eldest Night  
And Chaos, ancestors of Nature, hold  
Eternal anarchy amidst the noise  
Of endless wars, and by confusion stand."

## LITERATURE.

### QUESTIONS IN ENGLISH POLITICS.

THE patriotic and sincere American will not lay aside this book ("A Hand-book to Political Questions of the Day," by Sydney C. Buxton,) without expressing a sincere regret that it is not possible to produce such a volume in the United States. But, at the same time, with the regret will mingle comparative satisfaction that the United States have no social or political problems to solve—or but few of them. Whoever will take the trouble to examine critically the platforms of differing political parties in this country, will inevitably find that the differences are as to matters of administration, rather than as to points of principle. With this state of things we do not know that we should greatly grumble; happy the land whose political history is dull reading! With no question of Church and State, no privileged classes, no anomalies of representation, no land problem rendered doubly pressing and complex by the inadequacy of the soil to support the population, Americans can scarcely realize the position of their British cousins, driven to and fro by two contrary winds of doctrine,—

Conservative and Liberal, or, to use plainer and not less accurate language, Tory and Radical.

At the same time, as the tendency is to the most prolonged and acrimonious debate where shades of opinion or niceties of expression, rather than matters of principle, are at stake, we can hardly help envying a country where such a book as Mr. Buxton's leaps instantaneously into success. There is no more healthful sign in politics than willingness or anxiety to consider the two sides which there are to every question; for, even where all parties are agreed upon a reform in principle, there still arises the question of expediency in carrying it out. Bacon, long ago, in his "*De Augmentis Scientiarum*," recommended, among the books which he had not time to undertake himself, but which would prove of service to posterity, "a collection of studied antitheses, or short and strong sentences on both sides of the question on a variety of subjects." This is the book which Mr. Buxton has produced, with a moderation, a comprehensiveness and a clearness beyond all praise, to say nothing of the promptness which is the most precious of characteristics of such compilations. Still, it is noteworthy, as indicating the speed with which important questions are coming to the front in England in the course of the revolution which has recently set in,—for it is a revolution not less important and far-reaching in its consequences than that of 1688,—that in Mr. Buxton's well arranged index we find no such titles as "Tithes," "Abolition of the Lords," or "Fair Trade," though the third edition comes down to June of the present year, and deals with the Irish land question and obstruction.

In some measure, our author has followed the line laid out by his father fifteen years ago in his "Ideas of the Day on Policy," though, instead of the arguments being reduced to ideas, the arguments themselves which govern each question are placed side by side, leaving it to the student to weigh and accept or reject them. In his interesting preface, Mr. Buxton reviews the course and progress of British politics since the publication of his father's book. The questions of "Burials," "Church Rates," "The Irish Church," "University Tests," "Revision of the Bible," "Education, (in one aspect,) Reform, (from the aspect then considered,) "Limited Liability," "Strikes," "Charitable Trusts," "Army Purchase," "Irish Lands," and "Competitive Examinations" have been decided. The questions now before the public, but which in 1866 were not vital, were not even generally advocated, are "Education," (in certain aspects,) "County Franchise," "Female Suffrage," "Registration of Land Titles," "Distress," "Tenant Right," "Local Taxation," "Local Self-Government," "Local Option," the "Gothenburg System," "Sunday Closing of Public Houses," "Sunday Opening of Museums," "Reciprocity and Home Rule," while among the subjects which have remained stationary Mr. Buxton enumerates the "Parliament Bill," "Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister," and "Abolition of Capital Punishment." The list is somewhat long, but we willingly make room for it, as indicating the rapidity with which political and social problems develop themselves in England, and the infinite variety of topics with which the so-called "Imperial Legislature" is called upon to deal.

Perhaps the section devoted to "Reform" will be deemed by American readers alike the most interesting and the most important, since here are involved and included all the politico-social questions of the time. The only question of franchise reform within the range of practical politics is that which would place the householders in the Parliamentary counties on an equality with those in the Parliamentary boroughs. Mr. Buxton arrays the arguments in support of the proposition under twelve heads and as many more sub-heads, pointing out that, unless he forfeits it by pauperism or crime, or is without an adequate stake in the country, every man who belongs to a Commonwealth has the right to share in the management of its affairs, being a like contributor to the public revenue and the public wealth. The present boundary lines between the boroughs and counties are merely capricious and imaginary, and the extension of the franchise would not enfranchise a fresh class of voters, but merely confer on the mass of householders that which has already been granted to many of their number. "Men denied the privileges of citizenship," says Mr. Buxton, "are apt to forget its duties; the land-owners are, and always will be, few in number, so that a small minority practically monopolize all the political power in the counties, which is inexpedient; and, as hitherto the lowering of franchise has never been followed by the prophesied evils, the presumption against change has become comparatively weak." To Americans, these contentions will seem so reasonable that there may be little patience with the opposition; yet the arguments in opposition are worth stating, as showing the status and drift of conservative opinion. No one, it is claimed, has a "right" to claim the franchise; the object to be arrived at is the best possible Government; not that certain persons should be gratified by having a share in ruling; not equality, but inequality, would be caused by placing the rich and educated minority at the mercy of the day-laborer; those who have gathered no wealth, and hence remain on the lowest levels of the working classes, have shown themselves unfit for handling the policy of the country; the voice of the working people would be on the side of extravagance, war and communism, and, having a class



interest, they would combine against the rest of the community,—being ignorant, they would be easily swayed by demagogues, and, being numerous, they would obtain whatever they desired. The extension of the franchise, it is claimed by the antagonists of the measures, has lowered, and, if extended, will still further lower, the standard of political courage and originality; the rural householder has not the independence or knowledge of his urban brother; and, finally, the present anomaly at least does no harm, while the extension of the franchise might do untold evil, to say nothing of the increase in the costliness of elections and the inconvenience of a re-distribution of seats.

On the question of the re-distribution of seats, the arguments *pro* and *con* are not materially different. Each member of Parliament, it is contended by the advocates of re-distribution, should represent large masses of the people, and not a few families or interests; a re-arrangement and a more even division of members would give the people its due share of political power; small boroughs are more amenable to bribery than large ones, and more likely to be influenced by local desires and interests; larger constituencies would as fairly represent the legitimate interests and views of the people, and, finally, such abominable inequalities in the power of votes would be corrected as now exist, for instance, in the cases of Marlborough and Lambeth, 690 voters electing one member in the former constituency, and 50,500 in the latter only two. Against this the advocates of the existing system array such facts and allegations as these,—that the check of small constituencies upon the too absolute sway of the multitude is desirable; that many valuable men, who could not get in for large, might get in for small, constituencies; that the power of wealth and local influence would be increased by increasing the costliness of elections, and that, if any equalization were attempted, it would not be long ere representation would again become unequal, and a fresh re-distribution would be required.

To those who, like ourselves, have solved such problems as these by a logical course of action, the defence may seem not only weak, but silly. It is, however, a precious revelation of the position of the Conservatives in England with regard to the franchise—a sort of object lesson in the comparative anatomy of political parties in the two countries. This, too, will strike the mind of the observant reader,—the logical reply to every Conservative objection to a liberal argument is a more Radical re-affirmation and conclusion. Large constituencies would increase the expenses of the candidates to the constituency. Any equalization now would be partial, and have to be revised in the near future; then make it Radical; confer the suffrage on all, and have electoral districts all of a size. On one point, however, the Conservatives can always make a plausible showing—the historical point. Thus, there is nothing more certain than that small boroughs have given many of England's most distinguished and liberal of statesmen an entrance into political life, and a career they might not otherwise have enjoyed. Mr. Gladstone, himself, went into the House as a representative of the Duke of Newcastle's pocket-borough of Newark, and it is historically true, that, despite its anomalies of representation, the House of Commons has always answered faithfully to the touch of powerful national sentiment. No better proof of this could be afforded than is furnished by the Reform Bill of 1832, when the owners of so many pocket-boroughs voted the extinction of their own influence and wealth without any compensation whatever.

The readers of Mr. Buxton's volume, admirable alike in conception and execution, will find but one cause for regret—that the accomplished author has not appended his own judicial appreciation of the arguments so impartially stated. And he will rise from its perusal more than ever convinced of the hopelessness of the Conservative cause in England, where the strongest, and at times the only, arguments arrayed against progress and logical reform are those based upon timidity and expediency. It is the broom of Mrs. Partington against the Atlantic Ocean. John Murray, London. 1881. Pp., 190.

**BELIEF IN CHRISTIANITY.**—The Rev. C. A. Row, M. A., prebendary of St. Paul's, and Bampton Lecturer in 1877, was requested by the Dean and Chapter in that year to deliver a course of lectures at St. Paul's Cathedral, on "Reasons for Believing in Christianity, Addressed to Busy People." This he did, and the result is before us in a small volume printed in this country by Thomas Whittaker. The author writes most attractively, and with exceeding clearness, strong logic and sound theology. His little book deserves a wide circle of busy people, to whom it doubtless will present cogent reasons for the conclusions reached. The volume is well printed and neatly bound. Thomas Whittaker, New York, 1881. Pp. 162.

#### THOUGHTS FROM THE MAGAZINES.

**HARPER'S MAGAZINE.**—In the October number, Mr. Charles Barnard discusses very pleasantly the question of telegraphy. Referring to cheap telegraphs, he says:

"The figures from the official reports of the Western Union Telegraph Company may help us in our search for cheap telegraphy. The volume of business transacted

by the Company has increased from 1867 to 1880 from nearly six million messages to twenty-nine million, or almost five-fold. If all these messages were sent by the single Morse system, the length of wire ought to have increased in something like the same proportion, for it cannot be imagined that the operators have gained very much in skill in that time. In 1867 there were 85,291 miles of wire. In 1880 there were 233,534 miles of wire. The messages increased nearly five-fold; the wires over which they were sent did not increase quite three-fold. Clearly the Duplex and the Quadruplex have proved of benefit to some one. In thirteen years the capacity of all the wires of this company has doubled. What of the price of telegrams? In 1867 it is reported at an average toll of 104.7 cents per message. In 1868 it had fallen to 89.3 cents. In 1875 it had come down to 54 cents, or nearly one half. Before the creation of the present Western Union, the average rate, it is said, was \$1.20 per message. At the time of the two tariffs cited, in 1848 and 1852, there were a great number of competing companies, and to send a message any great distance required the payment of a number of different tolls. By the consolidation into one great company, one toll was established, to the great gain of the company, and also to the public. In 1875 the average price is reported at 54 cents—a gain of nearly one-half since 1867. The Quadruplex was introduced the year before, and in 1878 was in general use on all the main lines, and the company's plant was doing nearly a four-fold duty. Did the price fall in like proportion? It does not so appear.

"In 1867 the price of the raw material, from which sulphuric acid was made, was \$61 a ton, and the selling price of the acid was 2½ cents per pound. In 1879 the raw material was \$23 a ton, and the acid 1½ cents per pound. The difference in the price of acid and the cost of material, it must be remarked, was also affected by improvements in the process of manufacture, the gain being estimated at about fifteen per cent. Sulphuric acid and the metals zinc and copper are the chief costs of a battery, and yet the acid has fallen since 1867 from 2½ to 1½ cents a pound. However, we need seek no further in this direction, for within two years a more wonderful step has been taken in this field of science. The dynamo-electric machine, driven by steam-power, has replaced the battery, and, according to good authority, reduced the expense of obtaining the required current of electricity at least one-half. In addition to this, it is said that in other directions the cost of transmitting telegrams has been greatly reduced within a few years. For instance, more perfect insulation has been secured, and better methods of construction are employed. The Quadruplex system acts as a police by driving the operators up to their work. No man can loiter over his key while seven others are watching him. The price of wire has also fallen materially, and, with perhaps the exception of poles, everything used in telegraphy is much cheaper now than in 1867.

"Between 1867 and 1875 the report shows a gain of nearly one-half. Between 1875 and 1880 the average toll is reported to have fallen from 54 cents to 43.6 cents, or only 10.4 cents. In this time the Quadruplex was generally introduced, the price of materials continually fell, and the battery was replaced by the dynamo-machine.

"Suppose that by some mechanical marvel the capacity of the Croton aqueduct had been suddenly quadrupled, and without in any way increasing the size of the pipe. Clearly, if there were sufficient water in the Croton River, the people would get four times as much water, and the Water Commissioners would be fully justified in reducing the water-rates to one half. This is precisely what the Quadruplex has done for the telegraph."

Mr. Henry W. Grady discusses "Cotton and its Kingdom," in the course of which he remarks, anent the possibilities of cotton production:

"It may be well to remark at the outset that the production of cotton in the South is practically without limit. It was 1830 before the American crop reached 1,000,000 bales, and the highest point ever reached in the days of slavery was a trifle above 4,500,000 bales. The crop of 1880-81 is about 2,000,000 in excess of this, and there are those who believe that a crop of 8,000,000 bales is among the certainties of the next few years. The heavy increase in the cotton crop is due entirely to the increase of cotton acreage, brought about by the use of fertilizers. Millions of acres of land, formerly thought to be beyond the possible limit of the cotton belt, have been made the best of cotton lands by being artificially enriched. In North Carolina alone, the limit of cotton production has been moved twenty miles northward and twenty miles westward, and the half of Georgia on which no cotton was grown twenty years ago, now produces fully half the crop of the State. The 'area of low production,' as the Atlantic States are brought to the front by artificial stimulation, is moving westward, and is now central in Alabama and Florida. But the increase in acreage, as large as it is, will be but a small factor in the increase of production, compared to the intensifying the cultivation of the land now in use. Under the present loose system of planting, the average yield is hardly better than one bale to three acres. This could be easily increased to a bale an acre. In Georgia five bales have been raised on one acre, and a yield of three bales to the acre is credited to several localities. President Morehead, of the Mississippi Valley Cotton Planters' Association, says that the entire cotton crop of the present year might have been easily raised in fourteen counties along the Mississippi River. It will be seen, therefore, that the capacity of the South to produce cotton is practically limitless, and, when we consider the enormous demand for cotton goods now opening up from new climes and peoples, we may conclude that the near future will see crops compared to which the crop of the past year, worth \$300,000,000, will seem small."

A thoughtful, timely and interesting article on "The Mormon Situation," is contributed by Mr. C. C. Goodwin. From it we take this suggestive paragraph:

"While this system is spreading and being daily strengthened, while something is going on in Utah which, if left exclusively to itself, would, in a generation, bring women to the auction-block, and utterly brutalize men, the people of the East do not seem to be greatly worried. Though the Gentiles of Utah never wronged the Mormons, though they have given to Utah its prosperity and accumulated wealth, though they own quite two-fifths of the property of the Territory, and though they have never asked anything of the Mormons except that they obey the laws, still the sentiment of the East is that they are a predatory set, and that the Mormons are entitled to peculiar and tender consideration, because they, when their presence and customs had become intolerable to the people among whom they dwelt, started out into the wilderness and established a thriving Territory.

"While doing this, the Mormons have shrunk from no crime, recoiled at no falsehood, have murdered and robbed Americans in secret, and laid the crime to savages, and still, while despoiling Americans, have shed crocodile tears over their own extreme sufferings. They have disobeyed and derided the laws, and still continue to do so; they have insulted and driven away United States officials for no offence except that of trying to do their duty under their oaths, and all this has been performed by the orders of less than thirty men, who, in the meantime, have absorbed so much of the earnings of the people that they possess more money and property than five times

twenty thousand of their dupes possess. Worse than all, they have again forged the chains of an ignominious slavery on the wrists of women; what they call their religion offers a perpetual premium for men's lusts; their teachings kill the germ of chastity in the hearts of childhood before it is ever warmed into life, and destroy the honor and sacredness of home.

"The men of the East should consider these things, and should remember that once before there was an institution in this country around which there was a shield of sympathy; its divine rights were declared from a thousand pulpits; Congress was too sordid and too cowardly to deal with it; wholesale merchants and great corporations lent their influence to perpetuate it, and a venal press rang with anathemas against any who dared to denounce it. But there came a day at last when men had to choose which should live and rule,—that institution or this nation.

"The history of what followed is fresh in all minds; and, little as the masses believe it now, there will come a time, if this monster in Utah is left to grow, when there will be another call for volunteers and for money; and, as before, tens of thousands of brave young men will go away, never to return; as before, there will be an enormous debt incurred; as before, the country will be hillockd with graves, and the whole land will be moistened with the rain of women's tears."

**PENN MONTHLY.**—In the current number a writer has this to say concerning Civil Service Reform:

"A reform in the civil service of the country is desirable, not only that the business of the Government may be economically and efficiently transacted, but also that the politics of the country may be purified by the overthrow of the spoils system. Of course, the full accomplishment of either one of these objects secures the other. If the revenues of the Government be collected and disbursed upon business principles, and if the faithful and efficient performance of official duty be, without regard to the employes' political views or services, the condition of their tenure of office, those employes will have neither the time nor the inclination to do political work; and from this will result a purification of national, State and municipal politics. On the other hand, if the country shall declare that no longer to the victor shall belong the spoils, and that neither political influence nor services shall avail to secure public employment for an incompetent applicant, the then incumbents of the public offices, secure from dismissal, either for their own failure to render partisan services, or that they may make room for some political favorite, will devote their whole time and energies to their official duties; and upon this must follow an improved administration of public affairs. The object of Civil Service Reform being, therefore, a more efficient and economical administration of government, and the restoration of pristine political purity, it can be attained only by that system whose main points are the entry of the employes into the public service only by success in competitive examination, followed by satisfactory probationary service, and the employes' tenure of office, not for life, but during good behavior, with freedom from political assessments, and the prohibition of their partisan political activity. Neither the competitive examination nor the tenure of office during good behavior are in themselves ends. They are only means to the accomplishment of the great end of purifying the public service and the politics of the country; but they are each essential means. The reform cannot be thorough unless both means are used."

**APPLETON'S JOURNAL.**—The editor of this periodical, discussing the same important question, holds the following:

"While heartily sanctioning the motive that originated the Civil Service Reform movement, we, for our part, have somewhat distrusted the good it is likely to produce. It is impossible, in our judgment, to effect any appreciable reform in political matters where systems are at fault, by simply acting on persons. A good system by its natural course of operation secures suitable instruments; and hence, the only way to accomplish reform is by beginning at the foundation, by reconstructing faulty methods, by restraining wrong forces and setting rightful ones to work. Political reformers usually assume that, by putting one set of men out of office and another set of men in office, some mysterious good is to be effected thereby. We may go on experimenting in this way for ages, but we shall accomplish nothing. Just so long as the present conditions continue, we shall find substantially the same evils arising therefrom. The Civil Service Reform may put more scholarly men in office, but, if these men are subjected to the same influences and the same pressure to which their predecessors were subjected, if it remains necessary for them to serve their party rather than the people in order to maintain their places, we may be certain that very little good will result. We can secure better public servants by giving greater permanency to their official occupancy; we can secure better public servants by making it an inducement for better men to come forward as applicants; we can maintain in office competent and trustworthy men by making tenure of office depend upon faithfulness and capability; but we shall never secure better men by simply exchanging Peter for Paul, by putting the partisans of one party out and partisans of the other party in, by making a knowledge of grammar and history a test of fitness, or by trying in any way to cure the disease by applications to the surface."

#### AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS.

**THE Athenaeum** says that the papers of the late Dean of Westminster are left in charge of three literary executors, Canon Pearson of Windsor, Mr. Theodore Walrond, C. B., and Mr. George Grove.

The next number of *Macmillan* will contain an article on Dean Stanley, dealing chiefly with his earlier career, by his cousin, Mr. Augustus J. C. Hare, author of the "Memorials of a Quiet Life."

Mr. George Smith, of Coalville, England, has in press a new work entitled "Canal Adventures by Moonlight."

Messrs. Cassell & Co. are about to issue in serial form an "Illustrated Universal History," which has been in preparation for some years.

A new story, entitled "Little Fiffine," by Mrs. Macquoid, author of "Patty," etc., will shortly be published by Messrs. Hurst & Blackett.

Colonel Laurie, author of "Our Burmese Wars and Relations with Burmah," published last year, has another work on Burmah in preparation, entitled "Ashé Pyee, the Superior Country," showing the importance of Burmah to British enterprise and commerce. The book will be issued by Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co.

Dr. G. W. Leitner, of Lahore, intends to return to England next winter in order to compile a *catalogue raisonné* of the Gra-Buddhist sculptures and other collections which he has lent to the South Kensington Museum.

The Comte de Paris, according to the *Ordre*, is writing another book on the American Civil War.

A new department for Chaldean, Assyrian, Persian, Phœnician, Hebrew, and Carthaginian antiquities has been instituted at the Louvre. M. Léon Heuzey is appointed curator.

The *Bibliothèque Nationale* has received the sealed coffer containing the letters addressed by Alfred de Musset to Georges Sand, and copies of her replies. This coffer, according to the wish of the poet, is not to be made public until 1910.

The Hungarian novelist Moriz Jokai is at work upon a novel in which the incidents of the career of Frank Rákóczy in Upper Hungary will be the leading feature. A German translation will appear simultaneously with the original.

It is stated that Turgéneff, the Russian novelist, has tried his hand at writing some children's stories, which will appear at Christmas.

The remains of a very ancient papyrus manuscript have been found near Baskhali, in the Mardan Tahsil, Peshawur district. Much of the manuscript was destroyed by the ignorant finder. In some of the pages, the character, which somewhat resembles Prakrit, is clear, and it is hoped it may be deciphered.

"A Prince of Breffny" is the title of Mr. Thomas P. May's new novel, which is in press and shortly to be published by T. B. Peterson & Brothers. The hero was an Irish soldier of fortune and the first Spanish Governor of Louisiana.

Messrs. E. B. Myers & Co., of Chicago, have ready for delivery the "Michigan Index-Digest,"—a digest of all the decisions of the Supreme Court of the State of Michigan, as reported in Harrington's Chancery Reports; Walker's Chancery Reports; Douglas Reports; and the series of Michigan Reports. The work is compiled by Henry Binnmore. The same firm will publish on October 1st a new edition of Cothran's annotated "Revised Statutes of Illinois," embracing all the laws in force July 1, 1881.

The Lippincotts will publish early next week "Fragoletta," a new novel by "Rita," the author of "Daphne," etc.; "Fichte," by Professor Adamson, being the fourth volume of their "Philosophical Classics," and Vining's "Mystery of Hamlet." The same house have in press, and will soon publish in book form, "Craque O' Doom," the serial story which lately completed its course in their magazine. They have also a new book of travels by Joel Cook, of the Philadelphia *Ledger*, whose "Holiday Tour in Europe" will be remembered as one of the freshest and brightest of books upon a well-worn subject. The title of the new book is "Brief Summer Rambles," and, like his former book, it will be a collection of letters originally contributed to the *Public Ledger*.

Among volumes for the approaching holiday season, S. C. Griggs & Co., of Chicago, announce two for issue in October. One is a new collection of poems by Eugene J. Hall, already known as a writer of felicitous verse. The volume will contain nearly fifty appropriate illustrations, and will be printed and bound in uniform style with "Songs of Yesterday," by Benjamin F. Taylor, of which a new edition will be ready about the same time. "Sparks from a Geologist's Hammer," by Alexander Winchell, LL.D., author of "Pre-Adamites," and Professor of Geology and Palæontology in the University of Michigan, is the title of a new illustrated volume announced for early issue by the same firm. It is a collection of more or less connected papers on scientific and semi-scientific themes. He will also publish "Isms, Old and New," a volume of Sunday evening discourses delivered during last winter by Rev. George C. Lorrimer, of Chicago. The title sufficiently discloses the character of the themes, and we are assured he has treated them with merciless logic and vigorous diction.

Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons make an important announcement this week. For several years they have been engaged on what will undoubtedly prove one of the most important contributions to American history,—a series of volumes contributed at their solicitation by a number of leading actors in and students of the great conflict of 1861-'65, with a view of bringing together, for the first time, a full and authoritative military history of the suppression of the Rebellion, under the general title of "The Campaigns of the Civil War." The publishers say:

"The final and exhaustive form of this great narrative, in which every doubt shall be settled and every detail covered, may be a possibility only of the future. But it is a matter for surprise that, twenty years after the beginning of the Rebellion, and when a whole generation has grown up needing such knowledge, there is no authority which is at the same time of the highest rank, intelligible and trustworthy, and to which a reader can turn for any general view of the field—for a strong, vivid, concise, but truly-proportioned story of the great salient events. The many reports, regimental histories, memoirs, and other materials of value for special passages, require, for their intelligent reading, an ability to combine and proportion them which the ordinary reader does not possess. There have been no attempts at general histories which have supplied this satisfactorily to any large part of the public. Undoubtedly, there has been no such narrative as would be especially welcome to men of the new generation, and would be valued by a very great class of readers; and there has seemed to be greater danger that the time will be allowed to pass when it would be possible to give to such a work the vividness and accuracy that come from personal recollection. These facts led to the conception of the present work. Its possibility depended, first of all, on the consent of the circle of authors to whom, only, the publishers could look to carry it out worthily; but the cordial reception which the suggestion at once received from them and from all others consulted, speedily removed all doubt on this subject. From every department of the Government, from the officers of the army, and from the great number of custodians of records and special information everywhere, both authors and publishers have received every aid that could be asked in this undertaking; and in announcing the issue of the work the publishers take this occasion to convey the thanks which the authors have had individual opportunities to express elsewhere."

The volumes of the series will be duodecimos of about 250 pages each, illustrated by maps and plans prepared under the direction of the authors. They will appear, as



far as possible, in the chronological order of the campaigns of which they treat, and by their preliminary and concluding chapters will be so far connected that the complete work will practically cover the entire field of the war. The price of each volume will be one dollar. The titles and authors so far ready are as follows: I., "The Outbreak of the Rebellion," by John G. Nicolay, Private Secretary to President Lincoln, late Consul-General to France; a preliminary volume, describing the opening of the war, and covering the period from the election of Lincoln to the end of the first Battle of Bull Run. II., "From Fort Henry to Corinth," by the Hon. M. F. Force, Justice of the Superior Court, Cincinnati, late Brigadier-General and Brevet Major-General U. S. V.; the narrative of events in the West from the summer of 1861 to May, 1862, covering the capture of Forts Henry and Donaldson, and the Battle of Shiloh. III., "The Peninsula," by Alexander H. Webb, LL.D., President of the College of the City of New York, Assistant Chief of Artillery, Army of the Potomac, 1861-'62; the history of McClellan's Peninsula Campaign, from his appointment to the end of the Seven Days' Fight. IV., "The Army Under Pope," by John C. Ropes, of the Military Society of Massachusetts; from the appointment of Pope to command the Army of Virginia, to the appointment of McClellan to the general command in September, 1862. V., "The Antietam and Fredericksburg," by Francis Winthrop Palfrey, late Colonel Twentieth Massachusetts Infantry, and Brevet Brigadier-General U. S. V.; from the appointment of McClellan to the general command, September, 1862, to the end of the Battle of Fredericksburg. VI., "Gettysburg," by Abner Doubleday, late Brigadier-General and Brevet Major-General, U. S. A., commanding the First Corps at Gettysburg; from the appointment of Hooker, through the campaigns of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, to the retreat of Lee after the latter battle. VII., "The Army of the Cumberland," by Henry M. Cist, Brevet Brigadier-General U. S. V.; from the formation of the Army of the Cumberland to the end of the battles at Chattanooga, November, 1863. VIII., "The Campaign of Atlanta," by the Hon. Jacob D. Cox, ex-Governor of Ohio; from Sherman's first advance into Georgia in May, 1864, to the beginning of the March to the Sea. IX., "The March to the Sea—Franklin and Nashville," by the same; from the beginning of the March to the Sea to the Surrender of Johnston—including also the operations of Thomas in Tennessee. X., "The Campaign of Grant in Virginia," by Andrew A. Humphreys, Brigadier-General and Brevet Major-General U. S. A., late Chief of Engineers; covering the Virginia Campaign of 1864 and '65, to Lee's surrender. Volumes I. and II. will appear next month.

Mr. Laurence Hutton is at Petersham, working up the first three or four volumes of the series of "American Actors" which Osgood & Co. have in press. The "Life of Forrest" is the initial volume.

J. R. Osgood & Co. have in press, to appear in September, "The Glad Year Round," by Miss A. G. Plympton, a juvenile in the Walter Crane style, finely printed in colors; "Modern Perspective," a manual for draughtsmen, by Professor William R. Ware; a revised and enlarged holiday edition of "The Illustrated Birthday Book of American Poets;" "Famous Sculptors and Sculpture," by Mrs. Julia A. Shedd, and a new edition of "Famous Painters and Paintings," by the same author; a holiday edition of Miss Preston's "Georgics of Virgil;" "Geraldine: A Souvenir of St. Lawrence," a poetical romance; and "Dimple Drops," an illustrated juvenile, by Mrs. Laura H. Cooke. Later, will come an illustrated edition of Thackeray's "Ballads;" Miss Howard's new novel, "Aunt Serena;" a volume of "Japanese Episodes," by E. H. House; Rev. George W. Cooke's study of "Emerson;" "South Sea Sketches," by Mrs. M. V. Dahlgren; Mr. J. R. G. Hassard's "Pickwickian Pilgrimage;" Mr. Henry Bacon's *Scribner* papers, "Parisian Art and Artists;" a handbook of "Familiar Allusions," by Wm. A. Wheeler; an entirely new work by Mark Twain; Bishop Perry's "Centennial History of the Episcopal Church" (by subscription); "A History of Hartford County, Conn.," by Hon. J. H. Trumbull; and, for the Dante Society of Cambridge, Imola's "Commentary on Dante."

### DRIFT.

—Miss Mary L. Booth, editor of *Harper's Bazar*, by special arrangement with the South Kensington Museum, has obtained exclusive use for that journal of the designs of the Kensington Art School.

—There has been a controversy in Paris over the authorship of the passage in Lamartine's "*L'Histoire de la Restauration*," which gives a graphic portrait of Louis XVIII. M. de Saint-Victor, the accomplished dramatic critic, who died recently, was the Secretary of Lamartine when the above history was written. A few days after the death of Saint-Victor, the claim was put forth that he drew the portrait in question. The internal evidence of style is on the side of Lamartine.

—King Kalakaua is evidently a monarch of wit. Appreciating that contiguity is often the cause of war, he thus wrote recently to the King of Italy: "The enormous distances that separate our countries are a guarantee that peace and good-will are established on a solid basis, and that the pleasant relations which now happily subsist between the sovereigns and the people of Italy and the Sandwich Islands will endure forever."

—The *Athenæum* says: "The press is now pouring forth a flood of so-called poetry which is something less than a weak dilution of the poetry of Mr. Swinburne, Mr. Rossetti, and those who immediately followed them. It has at last reached the stage when the poet's quest is little more than that of discovering a line by one poet which will rhyme with a line by another, and joining them. And the marvel is that the public seems to prefer the mocking-bird to the defrauded singer whose note has been stolen and burlesqued."

—The *Saturday Review* suggests, *apropos* of new books: "We cannot but fear that these hand-books and manuals of literature and men of letters, which are springing up as fast as September mushrooms after warm showers, are a sign that there is at present in a high degree a restless desire for the appearance of knowledge, while there is but an infirmity of purpose for attaining its reality. The source of the evil may likely enough be found in the modern system of examinations, which, in its deadening effects on genius, is, we verily believe, only second to the Goddess Dulness herself. Examinations beget hand-books, and hand-books beget both ignorance and conceit, which, in their turn, uniting in marriage, bring forth more hand-books."

—The monument to Byron at Missolonghi will be unveiled early in September. Poems in honor of the poet are expected from Kazazis and Achilles Paraschos.

—The Antwerp Museum has recently added to its collection another picture by Rubens, a Venus,—bought from an Antwerp family for 100,000f.; also paintings by Teniers, Brouwer, and Weenix, and a fine portrait of the Dutch school, by a master unknown.

—In the Cathedral of Ulm a fresco covering an entire wall has been newly discovered. It is a representation of the "Last Judgment."

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### THE VIRGINIA FIGHT.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

SIR:—The *Richmond Dispatch* of September 14 contains the following:

"A dispatch to the *Tribune* concedes that the Debt-paying Democrats will carry the State by 30,000 majority. It is to purchase a defeat like this that the Republicans have broken up their own party and soiled their record by alliance with Repudiationists.—*Philadelphia American*."

If THE AMERICAN is under the impression that the "Republicans have broken up their party, and soiled their record by alliances with the Repudiationists," it is a wrong impression. Nothing of the sort has been done. The readers of THE AMERICAN, if they entertain such an idea, are as much at sea in regard to what is the real situation here, as thousands of people in the North were during Reconstruction, simply because they only seemed to hear one side of the question. If you will allow me, I will endeavor to explain the situation as it really is here in Virginia.

Four years ago, the Democratic party fell out, and there was trouble among them. It was caused by the refusal of the Democratic State Convention to nominate General William Mahone, the present United States Senator from this State, for Governor. General Mahone, up to this time, was the recognized leader of the Democratic party in the State.

Then it was that this Readjuster movement was started, and since that time it has been a splendid hobby to ride Democratic Readjusters into office, and elect its chief to the position of United States Senator.

The leading tried and reliable Republicans are not in the Repudiation movement, but nearly all of what we have always regarded as "trading men," who were Republicans only while we could supply them with such positions, are now the leading men in this scheme of robbery, plunder, and office-grabbing. I don't mean to say that every colored man who has heretofore been recognized as a representative Republican, is now dishonest because he is with General Mahone. Not a bit; but I stick to my text, that nine-tenths of the white men who were once recognized as Republicans, and who are now Readjusters, are "trading men," and have never been Republicans at heart. The three leading Collectors of the Internal Revenue Bureau in this State, who are now the loudest for Repudiation, last season were Debt-payers, and more than that, they each supported a Bourbon Democratic candidate for Congress in their respective districts, against a Readjuster in one, and an Independent in another, and a straight Republican in another. When the election returns are made out for the election, November 8th, it will be seen that the Republican party has not sold out to the Repudiationists. It will also be shown that the Republicans will have a small band of resolute and truly reliable men, elected as straight-out Republicans, who will prove of great service to the Republican party of the State by standing there with the balance of power in their hands, demanding justice and fair dealing from both of the Democratic factions.

The life-blood of the Mahone faction is taken from the Republican party. If it were not for the appeals they make to the superstitious and ignorant blacks, they could not expect to control a vote; but they tell the blacks that their object is to do away with the capitation tax, the whipping-post, and, in fact, all the obnoxious laws in the statute books, while it is a fact that these same laws are enacted at the dictation of General Mahone and his aids, as a means of nullifying the negro vote.

Every Republican ballot-box that was ever stuffed in this State in favor of a Democrat, was done by order of General Mahone, who was the index finger of the Democracy until the split; and his best friends don't dare deny this.

The Republican party is divided, but the best element of it is straight-out Republican, though, as I said, and again repeat, some of our very best colored men are Readjusters, and I believe them to be honest in it. I have always regarded them as honest gentlemen, and do not believe they would conscientiously do a dishonest thing, politically or otherwise. But, I repeat it again, and stand prepared to prove it, that, with but a few, a very few, exceptions, the white Republicans who are now strong Readjusters, Repudiationists and followers of General Mahone, are, simply and plainly, office-holding, trading politicians, whom no party need to weep over losing from its membership.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE M. ARNOLD,

LYNCHBURG, VA., September 14, 1881.

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## PENN MONTHLY

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1881.

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